19: Pehaut K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

The Groundnut in Senegal
/L'arachide au Sénégal/

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244 433 Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

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1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/, P.U.F. 1960.

177 244 The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

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177 244 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant harvests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a 244 plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

134 244 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable. The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

496 244 311 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the railroads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

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496 edges of the woodlands of Casamance, has reached the Ferlo
244 and the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east.
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I. The Types of Groundnut Cultivation in Senegal

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[433] The very symbol of the product of "trade," the groundnut is essentially cultivated by the autochthonous peasants, who devote to it an important part of their activities.

1. The types of autochthonous cultivation. Whatever the place of the groundnut may be in the system of crops, one always finds, within the framework of the very short agricultural cycle of winter, the same techniques for the preparation of the soil, the same kinds of tillage.

Everywhere in Senegal the traditional technical contrivances are primitive and permit only rather crude tillage. The
[418] lopping tool, the rhock, a kind of fork with two prongs, the hilaire, formed by a quite long handle and a flat blade in the shape of an ace of hearts, and the hoe, or daba, constitute the essential equipment.

In the spring, at the end of the dry season, the trees and bushes are topped with the lopping tool to 60 or 70 centimeters from the ground. Only the "Faidherbia," stripped of their leaves in winter, are spared. The branches are burned on the spot; their ashes are the sole fertilizer for the field recovered from the bush. The mutilated and burned trunks, the stumps left in place, give it an unfinished and disorderly appearance. Soon after the first rains, generally in June, one proceeds with the sowing. In the holes /7/ four to five centimeters deep, made with the daba or with the handle of the rhock, the cultivator puts one or two groundnut seeds and then, with the heel, covers them with soil. These holes, made in a row, are generally 30 centimeters apart. In July and August, one proceeds with several weedings and dressings with the daba in order to mellow the soil. In September the last cleaning out of foul grasses is done by hand. When the stalks wither, the shells have reached maturity,

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian 244 landscape.

W 244 1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W [433] The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113] 2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

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/7 cont./ by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

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The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

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3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

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/9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

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3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.7--Analyst]

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Fig. 1. Domain of the groundnut in Senegal.

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1. Sahelo-Saharan zone;
2. Sahelo-Sudanese zone;
3. Sudano-Sahelian zone .
4. Sudano-Guinea zone.
5. Guinea zone.
6. Coastal zone with relics of the Guinea woodland.
7. Groundnuts.
8. Progression of the domain of the groundnut.
9. Railroad.
10. Boundaries of the states.
11. Boundaries of the circles.

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795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver- [465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

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244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and [648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary [433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from 166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the 464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers [427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 433 All of these types of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

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2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/." In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid [795] labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4, instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have [795] adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S. E. M. A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S. E. M. A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

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244 654 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company [177] recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative [433] expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

795 244 c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

244 In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, [654] in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

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as the one of the famous "groundnut scheme" of Tanganyika. Moreover, they have greatly contributed to the rationalization of the traditional techniques, also studied since 1924 at the experimental center of Bambey.

3. Improvements in the traditional methods of cultivation. The center of Bambey, administered by the Institut de recherche des huiles /12/ et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) /Institute for Research on Oils and Oily Substances/ has made great efforts, especially since the end of the last war, in the selection of seed, instituting new methods of cultivation, and protection of the soil and the natural environment. These studies, together with the information furnished by Boulel and Séfa, have given very encouraging results.

1) The selection of seed. In traditional cultivation, the cultivator had to take the seed for the next season from his own harvest. This system was not very satisfactory: the seeds were often of mediocre quality, and they did not keep well; finally, very often the cultivator improvidently sold part of his stock before the end of trading and consequently had to resort to usurious loans.

Since 1924 the center of Bambey has introduced seed selected for high yield, adapted to the natural conditions of each productive region. The adoption of creeping varieties for the dry regions of the north and of erect plants for the more moist and compact soils of the south assures an increase of 20% in yields. In 1935 26 metric tons of selected seed had been distributed; in 1951 this figure exceeded 35,000. Since then more than 90% of the seed used has been selected seed. The popularization and the distribution of these seeds are handled by the satellite centers, but above all by the sociétés de prévoyance /welfare societies/, which in 1958 became the Sociétés mutuelles de développement rural (S.M.D.R.). The distribution of the seed takes place between the closing of

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242 244 654 trade and the beginning of cultivation, at an interest of 20% on a base of about 100 kilograms per cultivator. Reimbursement takes place before the opening of trade, the greatness of the loss explaining the high rate of interest. The seeds stocked by these Mutuelles are disinfected, and samples are sent to Bambey for analysis.

2) Improvement in the techniques of cultivation. An agricultural calendar restricted to four months and demanding hard labor, very rudimentary implements, and the absence of fertilizers explain in large part the lack of efficiency of the traditional methods.

The example of Koutiala in the Sudan, where some plows were distributed, has shown that the use of this implement is often prohibited in a tropical environment. In contrast, Bambey and Boulel have successfully experimented with small equipment, hoes and drills /semoirs/, in mixed /attelée/cultivation. These light implements can greatly facilitate the work of the peasant. A great obstacle remains in the mediocrity of the [231] animal husbandry, inasmuch as it is divorced from agriculture. The donkeys throughout the country, the camels in the north, and the cattle entrusted to the Peul have never been regarded as draft animals. Today 20,000 light drills, sold on credit by the S.M.D.R., are in service. Up to now the hoes have not had the same success.

/13/ Mixed cultivation also has the advantage of linking cultivation and animal husbandry and of permitting the agriculturalist to utilize the manure, as the Sérère know how to do. The experiences of Bambey have shown that manuring is to be done for millet, but not for groundnuts, under penalty of harvesting many empty shells. The use of millet as green manure seems very beneficial on these unstable lands; the application of the fertilizer compound N.P.K., in the form of tablets to avoid rapid leaching, assures returns 30% higher. At the present time the Mutuelles are distributing about 6,000 metric tons of fertilizer a year. The high price of these imported products is an obstacle to their popularization, but some

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242 244 654 specialists envisage the utilization of the phosphates of Thies.

3) Protection of the environment. The cultivation of the groundnut with the traditional techniques carries with it grave dangers for the soil. The abusive burning of brush denudes it and facilitates the erosive action of the dry harmattan which blows at the end of the dry season, from the month of March. The cultivation, most often improvident, leads to the rapid deterioration of very unstable soils. In the west the sands are impoverished, the salts are rising to the surface; in the east the lateritic cuirass appears at a shallow depth.

[313] [656] Legislation is intervening in defense of the natural environment; the decree of 4 July 1935 has interdicted the cutting of trees without authorization and has regulated the burning of brush and clearing. The most effective remedies, however, have been introduced by experimentation and recommended after a serious inventory of the soils. The example of Boulel has shown that bands of natural vegetation separating the clearings by passages perpendicular to the roads are an effective remedy against the action of the wind. The instability of the soils requires a strict system of rotation. Bambey and Boulel have proved that the sequence of millet, groundnuts, and fallowing is the best for preserving them. Fallowing for two years, recommended in the south, is insufficient in the north, where six years of rest seems to be indispensable. It is undeniable that for several years these crop rotations have been followed more and more, especially in the pilot sectors. Finally, the rearrangement of the map of the groundnut, amply primed, may have beneficial consequences. The circles /cercles, administrative districts/ bordering the Senegal River have practically abandoned this crop (Podor, Matam, etc.); northern Cayor, with a dry climate, impoverished soils, and a large population, has had a very marked decline in groundnuts to the profit of millet. In contrast, the new regions in Siné-Saloum and Tambacounda typically become groundnut-producers.

All of these innovations can actually bear fruit only with the acceptance of the peasant masses, which poses the problem

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of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

For a century the total volume of production has progressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer, as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period

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442 during which commercial operations in groundnuts are authorized.
654 It is opened and closed each year by governmental decree. In
438 general it begins at the end of November or the beginning of December and closes at the end of April. The date of opening the campaign is set about two months after the beginning of the harvest, in order to avoid premature uprooting and to favor
438 the reimbursement of the seed advanced. This system never-
442 theless leads to some smuggling in the south, because the
[439] navétanes, anxious to return home, and the peasants, without any money, are tempted to sell in Gambia. At the time of the close, the transactions have been over for a long time, but this decision prevents the eventual sale /15/ of the seed distributed by the Mutuelles. In order to have the commodity brought in gradually and to avoid heavy transactions at the beginning of trade, operations are suspended from Friday to Monday. Nevertheless by the end of the month of January nearly all of the harvest has been negotiated.

366 2) The "points of trade." Since 1932 the operations of
442 selling must take place in the localities called points of trade
438 or "escales" located on the railroad or a road (Circular of 13 July 1932). These points of trade, which were 175 in number in 1935, now number more than 300. The limitation, in 1932, on the number of the points of trade was a response to the desire to moderate the rhythm of the selling and to avoid the proliferation of intermediaries. The recent creation of new escales is
[244] devoted to the conquest of new lands and is an attempt to avoid the abuses of cultivation on the lands near the former points of trade.

The accession of a locality to the rank of escale makes
[369] it legally an urban center, with the obligation of division into lots /lotissement/ and, for the merchants, permanent buildings. The campaign is a period of great animation for the escale.
442 The merchants or traders open their bank of purchase or "factory."
437 Traditionally, intermediaries, or "masters of language," conduct
[492] the producer to the factory. The groundnuts, transported by don-
[488] keys and in bags loaned by the trader, are weighed and emptied

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442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

439 441 442 438 3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then [563] by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of [563] these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent 442 Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission 443 agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commis- 438 sion for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

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438 442 [443] [452] their establishments the manufactured products that the firm delivers to them. They are most often linked with the producers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

[441] The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers [258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their 438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made 442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize 474 the personnel and equipment of the S. M. D. R. Moreover, the 656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O. C. A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O. S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O. C. A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

1 [The Lebano-Syrian traders--Analyst]

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438 2. The "circuit" of groundnuts. The purchase of the
442 groundnuts in the escale and storing them in the secco of the trader constitute only one step in the complicated circuit that the groundnuts take from the place of production to the port of exportation or to the oil-factories.

492 1) The means of transport. From the place of production
438 to the escale, the groundnuts essentially utilize the traditional modes of transport, donkeys throughout the country and camels
[656] in the north. The decree of 4 September 1935 has forbidden the use of trucks. Its aims were to avoid bulky hauls, purchases at
[731] a low price at the place of production, and, above all, to encourage local animal-husbandry. This system, however, carries with it grave defects. Most often transport on the back of a donkey is more expensive for the producer than transport by truck because the camel-drivers and donkey-drivers impose their own price on the peasants who do not have animals. Moreover, the transporter guides the seller to a trader whom the seller did not choose. Today, however, more and more derogations are permitted, because in the south, where the groundnut is progressing, the tsetse interdicts animal husbandry, and in the other regions the overworked animals are incapable of doing the transporting at the end of trade. Finally, certain
[874] co-operatives which pretend "to collect" and not to buy do send trucks to the places of production.

494 From the secco of the trader to the port nearby or to the
438 railroad station, transport is handled by trucks. It is essentially the commercial firms, the traders or the local oil-makers who use them. There are few professional transporters because the traffic is essentially seasonal. The generally bad
[891] condition of the unpaved roads, except for the "Transgambienne" from Dakar to Ziguinchor, causes a rapid wearing-out of equipment, whose amortization is a heavy burden on the budget of the merchants.

497 The Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad and especially the Dakar-
438 Niger transport more than 200,000 metric tons of groundnuts

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 21--Analyst]

19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/

Plate I

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[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.

B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

19: Pehaut--20 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate II

492
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491

A. Trade: transporting the groundnuts to the trader (Diourbel).

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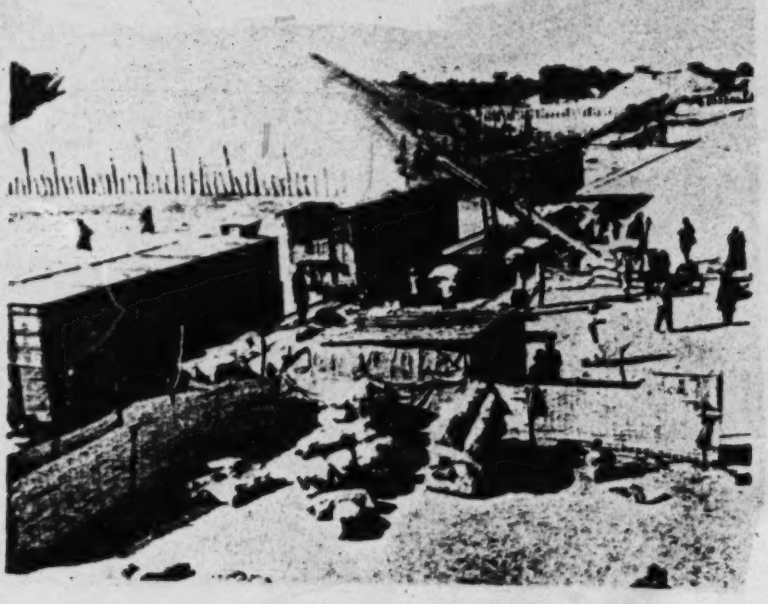

B. Loading the loose groundnuts into the cars at the station in M'Backé.

/17 cont./

499 438 each year. In spite of the use of cars of great capacity, the transport facilities are insufficient during the first months of trade. However, the practice of degressive tariffs, so as not to place at a disadvantage the production of regions that are [651] farther from the place of destination, limits all the more the possibility of an increase of vehicles, since the traffic in groundnuts is essentially seasonal and it poses a problem of return freight. The three ports of Dakar, Kaolack, and 438 Ziguinchor consitute, for exports, freight breaking-points [504] between land transport and maritime transport. The latter [505] is handled for the most part by the vessels of companies who undertake regular service: Delmas et Vieljeux, Maurel et Prom, etc.; they also have competition from the tramps. 435 These /18/ multiple freight-breaks weigh quite heavily on 438 the price of groundnuts, quite low at the outset, due to the fact that each of them is accompanied by multiple manipulations.

2) The manipulations. In its present organization, the circuit of the groundnuts involves many manipulations, because the product is transported in bags. At each step it is necessary to weigh the bags, to empty them into the secco, and then, when they are again forwarded, to proceed to another weighing and rebagging. Over and above the cost of the labor, the firms and sometimes the traders must bear the great expense of buying and repairing great quantities of bags which quickly wear out or go astray. M. Barbier estimates that a bag of groundnuts undergoes 16 handlings at the minimum from the place of production to the port. A solution to this problem might be found in transporting the product loose, by trucks and cars with gratins, loaded by mechanical transporters. These transformations presuppose great investments, which the groundnut, a cheap and, above all, seasonal product, cannot amortize.

3) Regulation of the condition. The decree of 11 January [656] 1926 created an Office d'inspection et de conditionnement de l'arachide /Office of Inspection and of the Condition of

/18 cont./

435 Groundnuts/ which controlled the quality of the product in
438 the escales and in the ports. This office, which functioned
656 under the responsibility of the local Chambres de Commerce,
applied the norms of "the practice of Bordeaux" of 1922. In
[685] the escales the lots with impurities of more than 2% were returned, and fines could be slapped on the sellers whose product concealed more than 3%. A second control was established in the ports. Since 1947 this office has been replaced by a "Service de contrôle et du conditionnement," which inspects the product only in the ports, thus making only the exporter responsible. All merchandise with impurities of more than 2%, and an average of more than 4% acidity for the decorticated product, is refused or subject to a reduction in price. Several years ago the commercial houses acquired sieves which permit the elimination of much debris, but they are often poorly utilized, and the groundnuts from Senegal usually have considerable debris, stalks or other things.

438 The complications of the circuit of the groundnuts, its
656 inadequacies, have stimulated many projects of rationalization, which for the most part recommend loose transport, stockpiling in silos, and rigorous control over the quality. At present a public body, the "Secteur d'expérimentation et de rationalisation du circuit de l'arachide" (S. E. R. C. A.) is concerned with this, but it singularly lacks any means.

435 /19/ 3. The marketing of the groundnut and the problem of prices. Up to the Second World War, all the transactions in groundnuts were free; the prices varied considerably as a function of supply and demand. During the war the "Groupement national d'achat des produits oléagineux" (G. N. A. P. O.) /National Group for the Purchase of Oleaginous Products/ controlled the market and authoritatively fixed the price. After the war, during the campaign of 1950-1951, the return to freedom led to a spectacular jump in the market price of groundnuts, which, at production, went from 18 to 30

/19 cont./

435 francs C. F. A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C. F. A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C. F. A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

434 435 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer? Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C. F. A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S. I. O. F. A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under

/20 cont./

435 439 the maximum price in periods of shortages. On the other hand this body supports the market prices when they are under the minimum price in a period of overproduction, thanks to a maintenance fund provided for by a tax of 2.50 N.F. per metric ton of decorticated groundnuts imported.

Nevertheless, apart from the quota absorbed by the mother country and the satisfaction of local needs, during certain campaigns, 1957-1958, for example, there is a problem of the disposal of large surpluses. At the beginning of 1958, 102,000 metric tons of decorticated groundnuts were available, unpledged by the S.I.O.F.A. In order to ensure disposal, while respecting the price at production, the public authorities created at Dakar, in February 1958, a stabilization body such as exists for coffee and cacao. This body, taking a sixth of the export duty on groundnuts and oil, and a professional assessment, could make good a part of the difference between the world price and that of the franc zone, the remainder being taken care of by the mother country. This body is still far from possessing the financial power of the "Marketing Boards" of Nigeria.

/21/ Just as the public authorities could intervene effectively in a period of abundance, they also had occasion to settle provisionally a dispute between purchasers during the deficient campaign of 1954-1955.

258 435 439 3) Competition between purchasers and the agreement of January 1956. The Senegalese oil-factories, having become very powerful after the war, are prone to acquire great tonnages, which could only lead to competition and conflict with the traditional purchasers for the mother country in a year of shortage. This is what happened during the 1954-1955 campaign, when the harvest amounted to only 390,000 metric tons. Not bound to respect the price set by the intervention of the S.I.O.F.A., the local oil-makers made the price rise. The protests of the buyers for the mother country let to the intervention of the Haut-Commissariat, which fixed 330,000 metric tons of

/21 cont./

258 435 439 groundnuts in shells as the quota assigned to local industries, with the distribution among them to be based on their activities of the previous years.

In order to avoid any repetition of such conflicts, the oil-makers of the mother country and their colleagues in Senegal on 17 January 1956 reached an agreement valid for five years. The local oil-makers can buy 420,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. On the other hand, they can forward to France, under exemption, within the framework of the quota of 225,000 metric tons, only 10,000 metric tons of refined oil. The greatest part of their exports is represented by crude oil, exported in accordance with bipartisan agreements by manufacturers of the mother country, on the basis of a price C.F.A. established according to the market price of oil for consumption in France.

III. The Place of the Groundnut in the Present-day Senegalese Economy

258 439 The above reference to the activity of the Senegalese oil-makers now permits the groundnut to be placed in the framework of an economy which has ceased to be solely colonial and which is employed to valorize the product exported.

1. The valorization of exports: decortication. A comparison of the details of the exports of 1935 with those of 1958 is truly eloquent: in fact the exports of groundnuts in shells, which represented 335,000 metric tons in 1935, have disappeared in 1958, while those of the decorticated product have gone from 16,000 to 330,000 metric tons during the same period. At export the transport of the crude product signified that of 28% of the weight in sterile matter, and the attempts to utilize this as fertilizer or for the making of paper were unsuccessful. After the war the acute shortage of maritime tonnage made the practice of decortication general. It is done today at different /22/ stages in the circuit of the groundnut: the place of production, the points of trade, and the

/22 cont./

258 ports, especially Kaolack. It is practiced by semi-industrial
439 enterprises, usually dependent on the great commercial houses or the oil-factories, which utilize the decortication frame or tray, shaking tables, and blowers. This operation, which employs many laborers, permits a charge of about one franc C. F. A. per kilo of groundnuts in shells. It nevertheless imposes some problems: that of the rate of decortication, which varies from one campaign to another, around 71%, and that of the risk of acidification. The decorticated product deteriorates quite quickly, and, depending on the
[435] times of the campaign, a rate of acidification of more than 3% or 5% causes a reduction in price.

258 Decortication is in fact only a preparation of the raw material. It is the presence today of the powerful oil-factories, constituting the essential part of its industry, that symbolizes the anxiety of Senegal to valorize on its soil its greatest wealth.

2. The Senegalese oil-factory. The industry of the oil-factory is a recent industry in Senegal. The first factory established was that of the Société életrique et industrielle du Baol at Djourbel in 1920. Then, after 1930, with the factory of the Huileries et Savonneries de l'Ouest Africain
[388] /West African Oil and Soap Factories/, and especially the Etablissements Petersen, this industry came to Dakar. Nevertheless, until the war, its development was impeded by the protective measures taken at the demand of the oil-factories in the mother country: an export duty of 187 francs per quintal of oil in 1936; and a quota of only 5,800 metric tons, admitted free of import duty, in 1938. The war caused this regulation to disappear, and in 1942-1944 the great factory "Lesieur-Afrique" was established in Dakar.

258 After the war, the oil industry modernized its equip-
433 ment and added to its capacity for trituration, which today amounts to about 500,000 metric tons of peanuts in shells, corresponding to a maximum production of about 165,000 metric tons of oil. Today, 125,000 metric tons of the

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258 [433] [439] product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity. About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and [464] [563] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since [388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 433 [439] The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 241 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the [439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of [162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually, 433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

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433 that the great majority of the inhabitants of Senegal draw their only monetary resources from the groundnut.

651 For the Senegalese state, the groundnut plays an essential role in the budgetary resources. Without speaking of the various domestic imposts, the products of the groundnut, upon leaving the territory, support multiple duties and taxes: the fiscal export duty varies from 10% to 12% of the value of the product, according to its degree of elaboration; the taxes of inspection and condition are from 1.2% to 1.5%, and, finally, the groundnuts pay the fixed tax of 5.4% on transactions. In addition to these different duties, there are the assessment for the support funds, which is 700 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of groundnuts in shells, and the dues for the local stabilization fund, which vary from 175 francs C.F.A. per metric ton of the product in shells to 500 francs per metric ton of refined oil.

[435] These various imposts correspond to more than 25% of the purchase price given to the producer for the product in shells. In 1957 the taxes gathered on the groundnuts for the [652] benefit of the Senegalese treasury exceeded a total of four billions C.F.A., when the budget proper of the territory for the same year was 8.1 billions.

439 Conclusion. The present situation permits a conclusion
433 on the notion of "industrial monocultivation of the groundnut in Senegal." For some, it is /24/ regrettable to write in the passive about the economy of trade; for others it is the criterion of the passage of Senegal into the sphere of a commercialized economy, although in this case based on a single product, since, unlike such countries as the Ivory Coast, the attempts to develop other crops for speculation have not been successful here.

This economy of the groundnut, however, is at a turning point today, due to the evolution of the relations between Senegal and France and the existence of the common market.

In the framework of the former political system, and

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433 then that of the franc zone, the groundnut of Senegal was traded outside of the world market for the product and could be integrated into it only at the cost of serious disturbances, as a consequence of its very high market price, to these practices when the transactions were made in foreign markets. In 1959, after the two successive devaluations in 1957 and 1958, the French consumer again consented to a sacrifice of 27 old domestic francs per kilo of decorticated groundnuts from Senegal in relation to the world price of the product. From this figure one can deduce that the passage of the Senegalese groundnut into the world circuit would be expressed by a lowering of nearly 30 % of the value of the harvest, that is, of the monetary revenue of the producers, and by a perceptible diminution of the fiscal receipts, if one presupposes the suppression of certain duties, in order to bring together as much as possible the local export price and the world price. The suppression of the private traders and of their margin of profit and the sale of food products or of foreign manufactures at a price lower than that of similar French products, which one can envisage in case of a rupture, do not seem capable of compensating for the lack of gain to the producer no longer benefiting from stable supported prices. In fact, the system of a free association between the Senegalese producer and the French buyer, and for the former a regime of stability and supported prices, and guaranteed sales, would seem to be the wisest solution.

The other problem is that of the existence of the European Common Market, of which France is a member. By virtue of the agreements of Venice of March 1956, an association with the overseas territories of the member nations is anticipated by Article 131 of the treaties. Although the reservations of some African politicians, non-signatories of the treaties, seem justified, nothing remains except that the treaty of Rome seems to offer some interesting prospects for the Senegalese economy. The five partners of France are hardly interested in the groundnuts of Senegal for various reasons. Federal Germany and The Netherlands purchase oleagineous materials at a low price on the world market in the

/24 cont./

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433 framework of their commercial activities. Moreover, they are especially great consumers of margarine. Belgium /25/ is concerned about protecting its daily herds and, up to now, the products of the Congo. Finally, Italy gives priority to olive oil. In fact the coincidence of the French shortage of oleaginous materials and the largely excess production of Senegal can lead, within the spirit of the treaty and without contradiction, from the common policy anticipated for certain agricultural products (Art. 39) to the definition of the groundnut as a basic French oleaginous commodity, with the formation of a support fund maintained essentially by France. M. Adler concludes: "On the one side there is sought a product that on the other side no one wants" (5).

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5. Adler, J., "Le Mali et l'archide /Mali and the groundnut/," Marches tropicaux, No. 745, 20 February 1960, pp. 497-498.

On the other hand it seems that in the case of union Senegal could anticipate, through the increasing competition between the local products of the six member countries, an appreciable lowering of the price of articles imported from Europe, from which there is a possibility of an increase in the purchasing power of the groundnut producer, in any case assured of getting a stable income from his harvest, except in the case of very serious natural calamities.

In conclusion it seems, as M. Barbier emphasizes, that for Senegal in the present circumstances the policy of bigamy is preferable to that of divorce.

Yves Pehaut.